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## ZIONISM—THE OTHER ANGLE

*By Archibald M. Hillman, Counsellor at Law*

Jerusalem captured, the British Government declared that it would favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and that it would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object. Authorities in international law have construed this British declaration to include the organization of a Jewish nation in the full legal significance of the term. The establishment, however, of a national home in Palestine for the Jewish people is viewed with a degree of apprehension by a great many as to its probable effect both upon the Jew in Palestine and the Jew abroad. It is to be the purpose of this paper to point out that the revival of a Jewish nation will not solve present day Jewish problems, but that it may accentuate them.

What are the problems that seriously affect the Jew? Let us examine them. Is the Hebrew race about to become dissolved in the ocean of humanity and is the Jewish religion as a faith about to become an inspiration of the past? The Jewish people for the past two thousand years have been wanderers upon the face of the globe. They have settled in every civilized community and yet without a national home and in the face of persecution have maintained their faith everywhere and have established synagogues and schools. This has not been done by any artificial stimuli but very often during periods of distress. "But," say the Zionists, "the Jew was obliged a century ago to be a follower of his faith. He was hedged in by ghetto walls and obliged to live separate and apart from all other human beings. Now that civil and religious liberties are extended there is danger that the race will be absorbed and that the religion will die a natural death." We have, however, in free America, maintained ourselves as a spiritual entity and have

kept the faith intact under the protecting wings of religious liberty and civil equality. Without Zionism, without even a religious hierarchy Jewish theological schools of high standing in scholarship have been founded and its graduates are eagerly sought out at times by small communities and at considerable sacrifice to come and preach the word of God. In the past seventy-five years numerous charitable and social service institutions have been organized by the Jewish people. They minister to the wants of the poor and needy, they heal the sick, assist the victims of persecution, solve problems of immigration and care for the delinquent. The Jewish youth in American universities have organized Menorah Associations having branches in nearly every college devoting themselves voluntarily to the study and advancement of Hebraic culture. In the face of this can it be said that the Jewish faith is at the threshold of death?

Is intermarriage making such serious inroads amongst the Jewish people that the race is in danger of becoming extinct? It is unique in this respect to note that Zangwill who for years has been England's exponent of a national revival amongst the Jews has himself intermarried. The Bible itself just teems with stories of intermarriage and many a prophet's chapter is filled with exhortation against Israel for continued practices of intermarriage. Some of the great Hebraic patriarchs have themselves married outside of their race. Indeed, it may be said that intermarriage is probably less frequent now amongst Jewish people than it was in Biblical and post-Biblical times. Be that as it may, how can nationalism in the least affect this problem? The Jews are bound to be dispersed. Palestine will not hold them all. In what way can the establishment of a Jewish state influence the minds and hearts of the young Jews living in the West? They learn to assimilate a different life and a different atmosphere and those natural tendencies which have heretofore caused intermarriage amongst Jews will not in all likelihood be checked by the establishment of a Jewish nation.

For over a century, one-half of the Jewish people in the

world have lived under civil disabilities and inhuman oppression in the Czar's domain. Compelled by unjust laws to live in the pale of settlement, denied the right of holding governmental positions of honor and trust including the army, the navy, the railways, the steamboats and the civil service, with high schools and universities closed to them, the Jew has in Russia become a pure product of the ghetto. The present revolution, however, has swept aside many of the disabilities as affecting the Jew, and should a stable government be established in Russia then the problem becomes entirely economic and social. Zionism may not then be an issue in Russia, for with the equality of opportunity, with the right to follow any profession or vocation the Jew will work out of his economic problem in Russia where for centuries he has been rooted to its soil. There are many Jews who love its land and its people and with the progress of a Russian democracy the Jew will eventually rise to political freedom and economic comfort. And on the other hand, if a revolution is not successful, if the Czar were restored tomorrow or anarchy allowed to prevail, what practical solution to the economic and political problems of the Jew in Russia can Zionism offer?

The problem of anti-semitism is as old as the Jewish race itself. It began in Egypt prior to the establishment of a Jewish nation when Pharoah's statesmen considered the Hebrews as a separate and distinct people and gave them the land of Goshen to live in. It found expression in ancient Persia when Haman pointed to the Jewish people in his domain and leveled an attack against them similar to that which one may hear today. When they began to travel westward and settled in Alexandria, Antioch and Rome they had special privileges extended to them because they were recognized as a distinct people. These special privileges, and their consciousness of like, always pronounced amongst them impelled separateness and soon caused anti-Judaic prejudices. Again the Jew in his early travels prepared the way for Christian development. He brought a new message to the barbarian. He spoke of a spiritual God, of prophetic vision and of a new conduct of life. Christianity,

therefore, grew in the shade of Judaism, but there soon developed a deep divergence between the religious doctrines of the two. The relations, cordial at the start, became strained and there developed religious antagonism between Jew and Christian. There are, therefore, a number of underlying causes for anti-semitism, the social, the religious, the economic, to which may be added the racial. In what way may it be asked is a national home in Palestine going to alleviate any of the anti-semitic tendencies heretofore existing? If we are to have a nation with diplomatic representation may not these tendencies be accentuated by feeble attempts on the part of that nation to alleviate these prejudices. And if we are to have a nation shorn of diplomatic representation may not a Jew baiter in a western land say, "You are a separate and distinct people, you have different national aspirations than we, you are not at home amongst us, go back to your own land in Palestine?" This historic prejudice has lost much of its strength and nearly all of its bitterness in Western communities where Jew and Gentile have come into closer contact with each other, where one assimilates a part of the other's character, where under a common patriotism and love of liberty differences between men have been minimized. The writer is free to confess that in America he has seen but little evidence of anti-semitism and equally free to state that in this country there is a tendency amongst Jews to be sensitive about this subject and to exaggerate its force. Now, having for the most part covered the problems as they appear to affect the Hebrew people and queried as to whether or not nationalization will obviate them, let us turn for a moment to measure the practical working results of a national home in Palestine.

Palestine itself is slightly larger than the State of Vermont. It is sub-tropical and has but few water-sheds and is mountainous and rocky. Though it has a few fertile plains and valleys its soil in general is partly sterile. Professor Huntington of Yale has made an exhaustive study of its climate. He says:

"From 1860 to 1906 the average rainfall at Jerusalem amounted to 26 inches per year. All of this rain, however, comes in the

colder half of the year when it is of little use for vegetation. Of this total 25.5 inches falls during the six months from November to April inclusive, and 21.5 inches in the four months of December, January, February and March. From May to October inclusive almost no rain falls and April has but little. If the rains at either end of the season do not come at the expected time or are not very heavy the crops fail more or less completely. This actually happened in the terrible famine years of 1869–1870 and in 1909.”

Huntington gathers four hypotheses to substantiate the conclusion that Palestine has suffered climatic changes since Biblical times. Of these four, two will here be mentioned. In the days of the Jewish state Palestine must have contained more than 3,000,000 people. They were in those days farmers and cattle raisers. They not only supported themselves but the Bible tells us that King Solomon exchanged grain and wheat for other commodities which the Phoenicians and Egyptians brought him. How comes it that Palestine in that day supported so large a population and had such a vast surplus of grain and wheat, and yet in the present day fails to adequately support some 600,000 souls who are rooted to its soil? Has the change been caused solely by the hand of man or is Palestine no longer in the path of cyclonic storms and hence for lack of rain can no longer boast of being a land flowing with milk and honey? In 1909 Palestine suffered severe drought and famine. Arab nomads invaded the grain field of Moab and the plains of Gaza and Jaffa. They left their grazing grounds for lack of grass and water. These Arabs have a natural contempt for the peaceful peasant. They answer the call to the wild and live off the bounty of another, and unless they are to be brought up to a high standard of civilization and a new mode of living Palestine will continue to be overrun by Arabs whenever hunger makes their lives too hard to bear. Great trade routes of the East at one time passed through Palestine, one of the best known being that leading from Palestine to Egypt through the northern part of Sinai. Commercial caravans and great armies traversed this route. Today, however, this as well as other routes which might be mentioned are entirely abandoned, new and circuitous routes between the same points have

been established, all due to the lack of grass and water. Palestine has never been an industrial center. It has no water power, minerals nor metals, and there is but little likelihood that Palestine will in the present day become an industrial center. The Jew however has not since Biblical times been an agriculturist. For centuries he has followed mercantile pursuits or has been an artisan. The experiment of transporting 2,000,000 people who heretofore have lived under varying climatic conditions and under all forms of political government into an oriental environment for the purpose of making agriculturists of them has never yet been tried. What assurance can the Zionists give us that the experiment will be successful?

Eminent Americans to the contrary notwithstanding, Jewish nationalism opens the door for dual allegiance. Theoretically speaking, a man cannot have two fatherlands. Should a German or an Italian naturalized in this country retain a force of love and attraction for his fatherland his presence may become inimical to the authority and best interests of the United States. We have, however, seen practical illustrations of the possibility of dual allegiance during the present war and it would be needless to state more than a few illustrations. Prior to the entry of our government into the present conflict the writer approached a naturalized Italian citizen and asked him whom he would fight for in the event of war between this country and Italy, and his ready response was, "Why, Italy, of course." But when it was called to his attention that such a stand would mean treason he thereupon immediately took the attitude that he would have to be neutral. "You know," said he, "one's love for the fatherland never dies." Justice Cohalan of New York who is an exponent in this country of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, made public the declaration that this country had no right to declare war upon Germany and thus assist England until we had ascertained what England's intentions were relative to Ireland. Was he willing to compromise American diplomacy for his pet theory of Irish independence? Now, the leaders of the Zionist movement both in this country and in Great



Britain are loyal and devoted citizens of their respective nations. They have been moved by the deepest humanitarian considerations to enter the Zionist movement for the uplift of the oppressed Jews of the world. But what can be said of the leaders is not altogether true of the rank and file of the Zionists. Many of them harbor a profound religious devotion for the Holy Land. With the establishment of a Jewish nation the door for dual allegiance must be opened, the reason being that a great many Zionists in this country have not assimilated American ideals, and its existence will check an acquaintance with the roots of American institutions and governmental life. This traditional attraction and fondness for Palestine will tend to alloy the wholesomeness and force of their citizenship. Should democracy in Russia prevail and the Jew be allowed free avenues of opportunity, will he as readily acquire wholehearted Russian citizenship when he lives in the knowledge that Palestine is reestablished and that his traditional home is beckoning for his return?

The Jewish people have never displayed a marked genius for self-government. Under the kings we had a theocracy. During David's reign there were three civil wars. King Solomon then rose in all his might and splendor, extended the boundaries of Israel, but as his reign ended Israel was divided into two kingdoms and the history of both is steeped in war and misgovernment. All of the prophetic inspiration from Samuel to Ezra including the religious teachings of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel came from the pent up feelings of the depressed souls of these men as they witnessed internal strife and confusion, and external attack. Today the Jew is a most highly individualistic person. His centuries of wanderings and oppression have taught him to be alert. He has often been obliged to fall back on his own natural resources. As a result, although law abiding, he is less inclined to submit to authority and discipline in his own circle. The past Zionist Congresses have brought these facts out in bold relief. Active Zionism has been before us for twenty years, and yet no definite program has been evolved. At the tenth Congress when England presented



her proposition for the settlement of the Jews in Uganda, the Chovevai Zion, a party in Zionism, left charging Herzl with having deserted Palestine and the Zionist cause. They returned in the morning to the Congress, however, after an all night conference with Herzl. As a result of this internal strife Herzl died, thus laying down the leadership of the Zionist movement at the early age of 44 years. When we consider the strong individualistic tendencies amongst the Jews, the fact that they have lived under all forms of government, the fact that they have developed all sorts of theories on the question of political science is it strange that they cannot today unite upon a common basis for the government of Palestine? The great leaders of the Zionist movement will not return to the Holy Land. Those who have been oppressed and have been weakened through unjust laws in Southeastern Europe may return. Where will we find the leaders necessary for the institution and perpetuation of a stable government?

This demand for nationalism is new. Primarily the Jews were a spiritual people. Their first consideration at all times in the Holy Land was their faith. Their national life in Palestine was only a phase of their greater life, their religion. The nation did not matter so long as the temple was not disturbed. The prophet Samuel pleaded with his people not to appoint a king. He told them that their religion would live without one, and so it has. Every Jew the world over has always felt the individual responsibility of safeguarding the religion and passing it on to posterity in all its purity. This feeling of individual responsibility for the faith has grown amongst the Jews because of their dispersion. Establish a Jewish nation and you may at the same time put an end to that feeling of individual religious responsibility which has for centuries permeated the life of the Jew. If the word of the Lord is to go forth from Zion, the divinely appointed place, will the pure orthodox Jewish worshiper feel as happy about his religion when he prays in a foreign land? May not nationalism create a tendency which will weaken those bonds that have kept the Jewish religion intact throughout the centuries?

Religion is still a profound force in the state. For ages church and state were united. If 2,000,000 Jewish people settle in the Holy Land their religion will be the predominating one. Is there any danger of church and state being united? Is there any danger of religious antagonism breaking out anew in that land which has been the cradle of all the great religions of the world and which has witnessed so many bitter and devastating wars for religion?

In 1877-1878 the Balkan states were carved out of Turkey for the purpose of satisfying a few small nationalities and since these Balkan states have been created the peace of Europe has been disturbed. Will the carving out of Armenia, Syria, and Palestine for the purpose of satisfying other small nationalities create an Oriental-Balkan perplexity. Many Ottoman tribes are anti-Zionist. Seventy Arab deputies of the Ottoman Empire formed a league some time ago for the defense of Arabian interests. Arabian newspapers have carried on a campaign for the Renaissance of Islam literature. Twelve thousand students at the ancient seminary at Cairo and hailing from all parts of the Mohammedan world continue to spread the fear that the Jews may seize Jerusalem, the city sacred to 350,000,000 of their co-religionists. There are millions of non-Jews and countless sects all over the world who reverence Palestine and have an abiding attachment for it. Will they all agree to withdraw graciously in favor of the creation of a Jewish nation?

For centuries the Jews have been the exemplars of the force of spiritual consciousness. Dispersed throughout the nations of the world they have yet maintained their identity as a religious brotherhood. May it not be said that the mission of the Jew is still before him, that he must continue to be dispersed so that he may preach the doctrine of Monotheism and spread the inspiration of the prophets to our generation. The Jew should enter wholeheartedly into the citizenship and nationality of that government in whose midst he settles. Civil disabilities affecting him in Eastern Europe must eventually disappear. He is needed as a proper spiritual balancing force amongst all peoples

as they are being welded closer to each other. It has never been necessary to intensify Jewish nationality to safeguard the faith. It is not in this day necessary to revive a Jewish nation in order to preserve Judaism or to direct its mission.